/xv cont./

*114 Having finished his investigation of the Orochi, in August of the same year Shternberg proceeded from Imperial Harbor to the lower reaches of the Amur, where along with the study of the Gilyak he became acquainted with the Olcha. During this trip he covered the lower reaches of the Amur as far as Sofisk and also the sea coast north from the Amur estuary up to the river Kol' and south to the settlement of Chom.

Shternberg spent the winter of 1896-1897 once again on Sakhalin and continued studying the language, folklore, and customs of the Gilyak and also rechecked his earlier observations.

In May, 1897, Shternberg, included under the amnesty following the manifesto of 1895, left Sakhalin before the expiration of his term and returned to his homeland, where he received, in addition, three years under police surveillance (1).

1. According to the manifesto, the term of exile was to be reduced by one-third, i.e., by three years, three months, and ten days, but, thanks to the "efforts" of the local administration, the reduction amounted to one year, five months.

Thus, during his eight-year stay in exile, Shternberg had investigated in detail the social structure, religious views, and common law of the Sakhalin and Amur Gilyak and, in addition, had thoroughly studied the Gilyak language and folklore. He studied the Orochi, Orok, Sakhalin Tungus, Ainu, and the Olcha in the same way, and partially the Negidal from chance encounters with them in the lower reaches of the Amur.

After the trip in 1896 there was a break of 13 full years in the expeditionary activity of Shternberg. Only in 1910, on commission from the Russian Committee on the Study of East and Central Asia, was Shternberg able to return once again to the Amur and Sakhalin, this time as a recognized scientist.

• [122]

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*114 data whatsoever on the social structure and sexual norms among the Amur peoples. Morgan did not have these data, and he only guessed about the existence of a classificatory system among the Amur peoples as an intermediate link between the peoples of India and of North America.

Up to the present day there is no mention of these discoveries by Shternberg from the supporters of the clerical, historico-cultural school (ardent opponents of Marxism and the theory of Morgan), because they irrevocably, with a living example, prove the existence of group marriage, so unpleasant to the Catholic Fathers who maintain the existence of individual marriage, private property, and monotheism from the beginning.

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● [122] As has already been indicated above, while compiling "Sakhalinskie giliaki" Shternberg did not have the opportunity to acquaint himself with the basic literature on the peoples of the Far East, and some unfortunate inaccuracies crept into his work; thus, in complete error he writes, evidently following an oral tale of the Russian population, "that the Gilyak of the lower Amur speak the same language as the Tungus." Actually it is not the Gilyak who are under discussion here, but the Ulcha (Olcha), who have a language close to the Tungus. Furthermore, we must consider that he called the Sakhalin Orok Orochon, agreeing with the local Russian name.

Gi
[197]
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[101]

The monograph "Giliaki" and "Sotsial'naia organizatsiia giliakov," the broadened and deepened edition of the third chapter of "Giliak," were written by Shternberg after his return from exile. While compiling these works Shternberg had all the basic literature at hand, and the questions investigated by him are worked out very thoroughly. In these works there are uncovered a number of new aspects of the social structure of the Gilyak, which Shternberg successfully compares with the Australian materials and partially aids in their elucidation. But both these works, unlike "Sakhalinskie giliaki" and "Orochi," like all the other works of Shternberg after his exile, bear a more distinctly expressed idealistic character.

/33 cont./

835 171 who are affirmed to have the right to this by the great council of the tribe. With regard to this group, she is piruari and vice versa. Thus we find identical institutions of marriage in tribes which are so different from one another! The famous punulua family of the Hawaiian Islands finds full rapprochement with the institution of Gilyak marriage.

835 684 The legitimacy of group sexual intercourse is clearly expressed in the fact that, while the violation of marital fidelity with a person not included in the group "pu" leads to blood vengeance against the seducer who has been caught in flagrante delicto, or, at best, to a cruel duel and ransom, for the persons of the permitted categories it leads to no retribution whatsoever, causing only some irritation, and in rare cases the moving of the seducer to another yurt. On the other hand, sexual intercourse between persons of forbidden categories is encountered as an extremely rare exception.

835 More than once I observed even cases of the regular cohabitation of brothers with a common wife, and full harmony prevailed [554] between the brothers. My first teacher of the Gilyak language, a [122] Gilyak from the village of Tangivo, Gibel'ka, the richest and most respected /34/ Gilyak on all Sakhalin, always lived in the same yurt with his younger brother, Pleun, and the relations between the latter and the wife of his elder brother were no secret to anybody. Her children regarded both fathers with identical tenderness and enjoyed equal tenderness from the latter, and, when Pleun died, all his property went to these children, publicly regarded as Gibel'ka's children. Pleun was very rich and could buy himself more than one wife, but he loved the wife of his elder brother, who in no way protested against the reciprocity on the part [593] of his wife, who had cost him a good deal. When anyone hinted about these relations to Gibel'ka, a momentary cloud of melancholy would pass across his intelligent, handsome face, but I never saw even a trace of bad relations between the brothers.

/247 cont./

weakly developed. Among the Gilyak there are very few such outstanding, passionately devoted hunters as are to be found among the Tungus. Nor do the Gilyak, especially during the past half-century, possess the heroic emotions of war. Indeed, what the Gilyak called wars in ancient times were in fact nothing more than sporadic clan skirmishes motivated by vengeance or, even more frequently, were over women. The Gilyak have never known war as a profession, as the favorite occupation of youth. It is natural that their emotional energy should be principally directed toward sexuality. The Gilyak begin their sexual life with the onset of puberty and devote all their leisure, all their thoughts, to women, the more so since by far not every Gilyak, as we shall see, finds it possible to marry. The bachelor youth is not content with the women to whom they have rights in their own settlement; they do not stop with the circle of women to whom they have rights by law. The only category of women before which the Gilyak halts is the class of women prohibited to him. Neither length of time nor immensity of distance will deter the Gilyak from his romantic adventures, if he can but find his fill of feminine society. The young man sets off most eagerly of all, of course, for the village of his "fathers-in-law" --akhmalk'i but he is not averse to undertaking a journey even to completely alien villages. During the time of my travels, young men frequently voluntarily joined me, offering me their assistance without compensation for many weeks, and this was done in the hope of finding occasion for romantic adventures, since this was not so very difficult. Owing to the Gilyak's traditional hospitality and eagerness for any news, the doors of every home are wide open to each new arrival. Thus, the Gilyak feels at home everywhere. A few hours after his arrival in some settlement, he has already managed to spend some time in every home, everywhere relate his news, to which the men and women listen with equal avidity, and has already managed to let his glance fall on some woman who has caught his fancy. The rest is a matter of his amatory experience and art.

/330 cont./

775 The deceased travels to Mlyvo on a dog sled. If he does not have holes in his ears for earrings, an old woman inspects him on the road and makes a hole, but if the deceased does not wish this, his soul is taken away. Earrings are worn, not for decoration, but for the sake of holes in the ears. The old woman who makes the holes is called chivkhyty fi-mam, i.e., "the woman in the middle of the road."

Before the funeral the soul either stays or leaves for Mlyvo and then returns again, but after the cremation it remains in Mlyvo. The dead convey the regards of the earth kinsmen to the other world, about which they ask during lamentation. If a woman marries a second time, she will not be with her first husband in Mlyvo; the husband also takes a wife in the other world. A good woman (widowed) does not marry.

763 Indyn's (1) mother, who was sick for a long time before her

[122]

1. The younger brother of Churka, Shternberg's guide.

death, lay on the ground in her small yurt; around the hearth sat her daughters, a married one and a little one, and (her sons), Indyn and Churka. The mother, with half-closed eyes, said: "When I die, the small children will be lost -- you will go and have fun this way and that way and will not think of them." Churka looked sidewise and said gloomily: "How can that be, am I not their brother?" And he left. Then (she turned) to Indyn: "Yes, I shall die, who will look after you, who will repair your clothing, who will feed you? You may freeze, drown. The Gilyak will abuse you, and who will say a word for you? I shall die, my lips will not defend you." Then her speech /331/ began to be confused. She looked through the opening of the roof; the stars had already come out. She said: "I must go, or else it will be too late." The sister: "Where will you go? Don't you see that you are dying?" -- "I know I shall not die -- I have to go." And with these words she died. And Churka at this time was fishing.

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753 159 The Gilyak Churka (1) recounted: "When I was little I saw

[122] 1. L. Ia. Shternberg's guide around Sakhalin.

a dog and wanted very much to have it, but did not dare. I felt ill under my armpits. I dreamed that the dog bit me in the very place that was sore. I lay just as if dead. Then my father bought the dog immediately -- he had to hurry -- and immediately fried a piece and I began to recover."

Everyone confirmed this fact. The husband of his present wife died from kkhmàs"ind.

V.

The Rescue of a Drowning Man

752 Having heard the cry of a drowning man, they come to his aid, press down on his stomach so that the water will come out, clean his mouth with shavings, and place a stick in his mouth. Then they wrap him in fur coats and tightly bandage his face (if he looks at fire, he will die). When he becomes warm, his face [782] is uncovered. He gives chukh-chugynd to Tol and then carries out a procedure called shavynd.

752 789 A Gilyak was drowning under the broken ice. He was rescued and brought to a yurt where the rescuer-host and the one rescued sat down opposite each other; a bowl with sarana and puchka was placed before each of them on both sides, and a white dog near each of them. They hooked together with hooks which they held in their hands (an imitation of the rescue) and pulled against each other, saying: "You will live to an old age, and so will I." Then, at the departure, the rescued man stepped in the bowl of his host and in his own, and they exchanged bowls. After the exchange, the rescued man said: "Nikhkhakhrá --

/6 cont./

122 Little as I understood Gilyak, it was nevertheless always more than any other newcomer in the Amur region, because it was more important for me to learn the language than for anyone else.

[123] Also, I can offer the testimony given by the Gilyak themselves to the effect that I did not speak their language like the other Russians (or foreigners), but in the way they themselves spoke (2),

> 2. I heard them say to one another about me, he speaks "mer ngarlatsch," i.e., "like us."

which undoubtedly referred to my use of some of their /7/ verb forms and suffixes, which were still wholly unknown to my contemporaries in the Amur region, and in any case did not mean much in view of their extremely slight knowledge of Gilyak. It was similar for Maximowicz with the Olcha and Goldi as for me with the Gilyak. Therefore none of the information given below about these peoples was obtained through the mediation of
122 interpreters. This circumstance perhaps makes our reports much
128 less complete than they would have been otherwise, since at the beginning, before learning the language, we had to limit ourselves to observation with the eyes and renounce the much more important instruction through the ears. On the other hand, however, the information, especially concerning abstract things, religious conceptions, and the like, could only gain in trustworthiness and inner value if it was obtained directly and immediately and not rendered in the light in which it was reflected in the mind of an uneducated interpreter.

123 Another and scarcely less significant difficulty in ethnographic research lies in the easily understandable suspicion with which the traveler is only too apt to be met among a half-wild foreign people and which makes the people either taciturn and reserved or even prompts deliberately false and untrue statements. I tried to overcome this, on the one hand, by friendly advances, small presents, hospitality, and kindnesses of all sorts, and, on the other hand, by caution in accepting all

342 /323 cont./
35 and crosswise diameters corresponding to the hearth or crosswise to it.

The smaller earth-yurts of the Gilyak are quite similar in nature, except that in these all the dimensions are more or less considerably smaller. In some cases, for instance, the hole dug in the ground for building the yurt is so shallow that there is nothing to be seen of any wall behind the plank beds, but rather the timber of the roof begins immediately. In order to gain space in such small yurts, the two rear corners are also equipped with plank beds, so that, with the exception of the front wall and the two front corners, one continuous sitting or sleeping bench extends all around. If the dimensions of the yurt are reduced even more, it finally becomes quite shallow, and hearth and plank beds, framed by narrow, upright boards, just rise above the ground, the latter only as much as the thickness of the layer of branches serving as a bed; the smoke vent is not very high above the hearth; the passage-way leading to the door has disappeared or shrunk to a few sheltering projections -- in short, the yurt has become a tent made of thin wooden beams.

342 Such was the small yurt of Tafiz-wo in the Tymy Valley on
[122] Sakhalin where I spent the night of February 18 (March 1), 1856, and found the mercury in the thermometer frozen the next morning. I am unable to say whether this was only a temporary structure, at any rate, it was occupied by a Gilyak family with children, and their summer yurt stood next to it. This winter yurt of Tafiz-wo was distinguished only by its stronger material and its larger dimensions from the emergency tent that the Gilyak usually erect when during their winter journeys they are taken by surprise
[122] by a violent snowstorm. On my /324/ winter journey in 1855 I was forced to spend the night of Feb. 6/18 in the forest on the high seashore somewhat south of Cape Wangi (1) on the west

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1. The Gilyak call this cape "Pilja-Wangi," i.e., Large Wangi, and a smaller, more southerly promontory, where we were, "Matsch-Wangi" -- Little Wangi.

/324 cont./

342 coast of Sakhalin. Four Tymy Gilyak and one from the village
[122] of Tyk, who were traveling along the same route, camped next to me. With a moderate northerly wind, there was a very heavy
[237] snowfall. The Gilyak shoveled out a pit a few feet deep in the snow, lined the bottom and the walls with fir branches, spread a cover of fish skins over it on the north side, over sticks stuck obliquely in the snow, and in the center built a small fire, over which hung the kettle. The wind increased during the night, and in the morning the storm was so severe that further travel was inconceivable. The Gilyak immediately set to work to make a camp better protected from the storm and snow. First they dug a circular cavity in the snow, stuck sticks around it, coming together conically at a midpoint, and spread several fish-skin covers over them in such a way that only an opening at the top of the tent was left for a smoke vent; a tip of the cover that could
[237] be folded back served as a door. Then the walls of the pit and the
[513] ground around it were covered with fir branches, and over that were spread the bear skins used for a bed, which the Gilyak always take with them on their winter journeys. Next came the setting up of a
342 hearth in the little dwelling. The important thing was to create
354 a solid base for the fire, because otherwise, made directly over the snow, it would soon sink deeply into it and could no longer warm those sitting around it. For this purpose several very flat pieces of wood were placed as exactly and as close to one another as possible, framed on all four sides by others, thicker and set on edge, and these latter were fastened in position by wooden pegs. In this manner a longish-rectangular cavity was obtained for the hearth. At the bottom of it the Gilyak now spread pieces of larch-tree bark, then brought lumps of frozen sand from the high embankment along the seacoast, cut them up with their axes, which they always carry with them on such journeys in order to procure the necessary firewood for the nightly campfire, and with this
442 filled the cavity made for the hearth up to the rim. In passing I
179 must mention that the axes customarily used for housebuilding and the like by the Gilyak and their neighbors at the time of my stay among them were either, on Sakhalin, of Japanese shape and

/329 cont./

342 some time in order to let out excessive steam or smoke. The [352] draft and cold along the floor are all the more noticeable here since the plank beds, on the contrary, are often quite warm. [516] The Gilyak, to be sure, suffer little from them, since they usually sit on the plank beds with their legs crossed under them. I be- 342 came convinced of how very hot and therefore uncomfortable 122 these can become, when in January, 1856, I attended the bear 136 festivals in Tebach for several days. In order to feed the numer- [114] ous guests, a strong fire was maintained uninterruptedly in both hearths, and, as a consequence, the temperature of the plank beds rose so much that some stearin candles on hand in my leather suitcase which I kept next to me melted completely. The heatable sleeping benches, incidentally also have the great disadvantage that they greatly promote the increase of many kinds of vermin. Under them, in inaccessible,hidden spots, along the pipes, etc., countless rats (Mus decumanus) make their nests and emerge at night in search of food. Often, when everybody had gone to bed and I was still writing in my journals, I would see them come out from their hiding places and go about their business not far from me. They do not disdain even to crawl up the interior beams of the house; when I once, in order to escape other vermin, had a hammock put up there, the Gilyak warned me that the rats would gnaw through the leather straps and the mat would fall down. But the vermin against which I sought such protection is even more annoying: the warm benches are alive with fleas, which find refuge in the crevices of the coarse straw-mats. In summer, if one enters an empty Gilyak winter-house, he is literally covered with them in an instant. I even discovered that it is unwise to set up a tent in the vicinity of such a house, on the surrounding smooth and firm ground. Undoubtedly /330/ the principal reason why the Gilyak leave their winter houses when spring comes and move into differently constructed dwellings lies in this swarm of vermin, and in particular of fleas, as well as the impossibility of staying on the heated plank beds in summer.

/355 cont./

342 184 as far as the humidity of the air is concerned, it is even greater there due to the nearness of the sea and the exceedingly frequent fogs and rain. Thus, if the Gilyak on Sakhalin build their summer houses on level ground in places, they must know that they are safe there against the first menace and in addition have other important reasons for building such dwellings. I think that one of these reasons is that these dwellings, less exposed to the wind, are warmer than those resting on piles and therefore can be moved into earlier in the year and can be occupied longer in the autumn. The first circumstance, /356/ however, is of importance in particular for the southern part of the Gilyak area of Sakhalin, where the Gilyak are driven from their earth yurts earlier in the year by the melting snow. It was in this southern part that I encountered the summer house built on level ground. In Tangi I found it occupied as early as February 8/20, and in Arkai on February 28 (March 11), when it was still fully winter. In Duĭ, however, it was still uninhabited on [122] February 27 (March 10), although I stayed in it because the two winter-yurts of the village were overcrowded as a result of a great confluence of Gilyak. This latter summer house, in contrast to several others built close to the shore, was farther from the sea, beside the winter yurts, and its owner planned to use it even in late autumn and not leave it until winter set in /Illustration appears here./

342 On Plate XIII$\frac{2}{a}$ a summer dwelling of the Amur Gilyak is shown, and, to be sure, a yurt in Mão, the summer residence of the Gilyak living in Kuĭk in the winter. It is a structure resting on piles, about three fathoms wide and four to five fathoms long, and looks rather clumsy. The walls are made of thin beams which, as in the case of the winter houses, are not joined at the ends, but are somewhat pointed and are stuck into the grooves of the upright piles. The rather flat roof consists of crudely hewn boards, which are held together by poles fastened crosswise. On a notched [417] beam slanting against the front of the house one climbs onto a level narrow sill which runs along the whole front of the house, is partly covered by the somewhat projecting roof, and which

$\frac{2}{a}$ [See category 116, P. 993--Analyst]

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*262 231 The use of the dog for food on the part of the Gilyak is of a wholly different significance, not so much social as practical. Understandably they must try to get the greatest possible use from their sole domestic animal, which, moreover, they are obliged to keep in large numbers as draft animals. This is attained [237] inasmuch as even in case it becomes useless for transportation, because of debility or injury, they utilize it by using its skin for clothing and its meat for food. As a result of this triple usefulness, the dog has the same significance for the Gilyak as the reindeer has for the Tungus and other reindeer nomads. Moreover, the Gilyak find great tastiness in dog meat, which is understandable inasmuch as it, as a consequence of the almost exclusively fish diet that the dogs have among them, must likewise taste strongly like fish, and this can be nothing but most agreeable to the Gilyak [123] [439] palate (1). For this reason the Gilyak were always willing to buy

[114] [122] 1. I could not bring myself to taste even the dog meat that the Gilyak ate in my presence, but I know that the meat of an animal fed on fish acquires a strong fishy taste, from my experience with a little pig which Maximowicz and I bought from the Goldi on the Ussuri and which we soon, although long deprived of meat, gave up eating for the reason mentioned. As early as Strabo [113] one finds the remark that in the land of the ichthyophagi (on the coast of present-day Baluchistan) the meat of cattle tasted like fish (Tyler /Tylor/, Forsch. über die Urgesch. der Menschheit und die Entwickel. der Civilisation /Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization/, translated from the English by H. Müller, p. 269). It is known that in Kamchatka even the milk of cows, if they have been fed jukola for a time because of a shortage of hay, always gets a more or less strong fishy taste.

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685 123 [122] cigar missing. I had even greater confidence in the latter. Since I had to face the danger that a mechanical workshop erected in the immediate neighborhood of my house prepared for me, in that it almost constantly threw sparks from its chimney over my house, which was covered only with tree bark and hence might easily go up in flames, I decided, since I had planned a trip, to take my manuscripts and collections to the village of Ssabach for the summer and entrust them to the Gilyak Mradamn. The boxes were provided with a cover, tied crosswise by means of a rope, and put in the summer dwelling of the Gilyak. My trust was completely confirmed.

574 648 123 [159] Finally, hospitality, too, is based on the national principle. At first it seemed that the Gilyak were inhospitable to me. They are too suspicious, too avaricious, /670/ too concerned about their own advantage to be easygoing. On Sakhalin, on the occasion of my first visit to the islands, they wanted to prevent me from using the fire in their yurt and even threatened me with a knife, so that I had to resort to grave threats with my pistol in order to have my way. I must say, however, that prior to my first journey to Sakhalin the rumor had spread among the Gilyak that the Russians wanted the island for themselves and therefore intended to kill all the Gilyak. After I had spent a winter in the Amur region, however, and had formed numerous connections, from which they could see that I meant well and was always friendly toward them, they became friendly and hospitable toward me, so that a very good relationship developed, and I even enjoyed their confidence to some extent. But there 574 [648] was always a great difference according to whether it was a Russian (lotscha) or a nibach (Gilyak) who was to be given lodgings: as soon as the cry "nibach pritsch" rang out, the fire, stirred up by the women, crackled more vigorously, a saber-shaped piece of wood (Gilyak warwars) was used to scrape and beat the snow from the person entering, a bowl of fish oil and ma was offered as a welcome, and, no matter how late it was, a meal was prepared. Then the host and the guest sat down by the blazing fire, the events of the day were discussed, in which the women also

/676 cont./

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June . . Tingi-long and Tingivata-long.

July
August
September
} are not given.

October . . Iging-long and Mugiti-long.

November . Klu-long and Anj-long (in the north).

December . Tschlo-long.

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From the fact that the first three months in Glehn bear exactly the same names as I noted down according to statements of the Gilyak of the mainland and the west coast of Sakhalin, I venture to conclude that he, too, inquired about them there. The same is true for June, whose name refers to the mass migration of the tengi-tscho (Salmo proteus), which, according to him, is called tingi-tscho. The other names of the months found in Glehn, however, seem to me to have been learned among the Tro Gilyak.

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My knowledge of the Gilyak language does not extend far enough to explain all the names of the months given above. For only a few of them shall I venture a word or two of explanation. It could readily be assumed that they are based upon especially striking natural phenomena and conditions characteristic of the month concerned, which, however, with regard to time, might now and then differ considerably in the habitation area of the Gilyak. This happens particularly in the case of the mass migration upstream of Salmo lagocephalus in the Amur and in the Tymy River on Sakhalin and calls forth among the dwellers along the latter a corresponding shift in the names of the months as compared to the Amur Gilyak, as I have already mentioned in detail on another occasion (1). In a similar manner, /677/ the

1. Pages 819-823.

/761 cont./

000 heaven. My informant remarked that Mlygh-wo must be a large village, considering the number of persons who die "peacefully" or from sickness, but he could not say anything more about it.

[764] The various things put over the ashes of the deceased, such as eagle wings, food provisions, etc. (***), serve for a rapid and safe

*** See Appendix 47 /p. 1227 /, 53 /p. 1233/.

journey to it.

775 The surprising answer to my further question as to what happened to the soul of a person killed by a bear ran: Such a soul assumes the shape of a bear and wanders in the forest and in the mountains.

[171] /762/ Undoubtedly among the Gilyak (as well as among the Olcha (*) this is the conception of a transmigration of souls, for

* See Appendix 45, p. 1224 .

they put the body of a person killed by a bear into a special little burial house (tschchyf-ngych) and bring it berries, supplies of fish, and the like (**). Nevertheless, the dead person himself, i.e.,

** See Appendix 57, p. 1237 .

his soul, is said to go into the forest in the shape of a bear, with the skin and fur, etc.

[122] [196] Only the difficulty, with an inadequate knowledge of the language, of reaching an understanding about abstract concepts with a primitive people little inclined toward abstraction has kept me from learning the Gilyak expression for "soul." The above-

[774] mentioned views concerning the consequences of death among the Gilyak make it clear beyond any doubt that they are familiar with the concept of the "soul" as a spiritual force innate in the human being. The above-mentioned concept of the metempsychosis of a person killed by a bear also explains to a certain extent why food provisions are brought to his corpse. His soul still wanders about